

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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FOR THE SECRETARY

Following message for you from Chancellor Adenauer just received from Deputy State Secretary Dittman: BEGIN VERBATIM TEXT:

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I am glad that, as I have just heard, you have made quick recovery from illness and it possible for you attend Foreign Ministers' conference and deliberations NATO. It is most reassuring for me to know you will be present at those discussions.

As I am sure discussions of Foreign Ministers ^{in Paris} will be of decisive importance for Europe and future of Atlantic Alliance, I consider it advisable for me to acquaint you of ideas engaging my attention in this grave stage our policy. As you know, I spent few days in Berlin recently. It was encouraging for me to note that neither people of Berlin nor Senate of city show any signs whatever of nervousness or weakened morale and that agreement exists between Berlin and Federal Republic in all questions of foreign policy. People of Berlin have meanwhile gone to polls. Outcome of election is clear proof their

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firm attitude with regard to those in power in so-called GDR and Soviet Union. Communist SED Party lost almost half number of votes it had obtained in 1954 election. It received mere 1.9 per cent of votes. That shows that people of Berlin are resolved to resist any threats by Soviet Union. I am absolutely sure that even if crisis becomes more acute this attitude of Berlin people will not change as long as western Powers adhere without restriction to their guarantee of freedom of western part of city and as long as Federal Republic and United States continue give economic assistance to Berlin. But I am just as sure that any hesitation or vacillation on part of three guaranteeing Powers is bound to cause deep anxiety and perhaps even panic in Berlin. Situation of West Berlin has changed fundamentally since 1948 blockade. Economy of city has blossomed out remarkably thanks to help of United States and continual support of Federal Republic, and, whereas in 1948 citizens of Berlin were all more or less equally poor, there are today large sections of population in Berlin who again have something to lose and must be afraid that they will lose their laboriously acquired possessions as well as their personal freedom. Furthermore, people of Berlin are acutely vigilant, and it is clear to every thinking person

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that an air-lift would not repeat not manage to maintain, even approximately, living standard of West Berlin. Finally, at time of blockade nobody could leave Berlin while at present everyone is free to do so. I believe it is of decisive importance for development of West Berlin and of Federal Republic which would be infected by any unrest or panic in Berlin, as well as for development of Europe and free world that not repeat not slightest doubt should arise that the guarantors of Berlin and, in addition, NATO will stand by their obligations even if worst comes to worst.

According to arrangements which have been made talks of Foreign Ministers on Berlin will be comparatively short. Important thing is therefore that communique should be very clear and unequivocal, for public interest all over world will be concentrated on text of communique. I have just stated effects that any vague formulations would have on Berlin. Furthermore I believe that if Soviets were to find in communique slightest signs that we were prepared to consider any restriction of rights of three western Powers in Berlin, such a mistake could give rise to genuine danger for world peace.

As you know, I share your frequently expressed and confirmed

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opinion that any retreat before measures of force and breaches of law by Soviet Union would have incalculable consequences for future of free western world. Moreover, I believe that of all attempts by Krenlin to undermine unity of West case of Berlin is the most dangerous. Even partial success for Russians would be bound shake laboriously erected structure of western solidarity in face of communism, because necessary basis of this solidarity, confidence in contractual agreements and assurances given, would be seriously shaken.

In past few days idea has been discussed by public in almost all countries whether Soviet attack on Berlin's freedom should be met with offer to Soviet Government to discuss entire German problem. There can be no repeat no doubt that any such discussion will be necessary at right time and after thorough preparation. But I do not repeat not think such negotiations can or should be conducted under pressure with regard to time and subject of ultimatum-like demand by Russians. It is out of question that even basic outline of agreement with Russians could be achieved within six months if only because for such negotiations point of departure created by Russians would be worst imaginable for West. Time limit of six months set by Russians would hang over all

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negotiations like sword of Damocles. It is therefore my opinion that Berlin question and larger problem, namely, restoration of German unity, should be dealt with separately. If these two questions were dealt with in conjunction with each other, either freedom of Berlin would be jeopardized or solution of all-German problem would engage us on path leading to more or less disguised capitulation to Soviet demands. Moreover, any deviation from repeated guarantees by western Powers with regard to Berlin would - permit me to repeat this once again - discredit all guarantees given by the West. You particularly, Mr. Dulles, who in recent years have done so very much, thanks to your clear ideas and your own firm conviction and will, for solidarity of free West in face of continual communist menace, you do not repeat not require to be told what consequences an even slightly ambiguous attitude on part of Western Powers would have throughout those parts of world which are still free today. In addition, it is my opinion that Soviet Union will not repeat not take any forcible measures against Berlin if western Powers show an unequivocal and firm attitude.

These remarks do not mean that, once Russian move against Berlin has been unequivocally repudiated, time may not have arrived, and indeed

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perhaps be opportune, to discuss with Soviets other questions settlement of which would serve to bring about general relaxation of tension - I have in mind the Geneva negotiations and German question in its entirety. After removal of blockade, too, negotiations were begun but at time produced no result. It might be advisable to indicate this willingness to negotiate, but only after it has been made quite plain to Kremlin that existing or pending agreements with Soviet Union will lose all value if it adheres to its method of unilateral denunciation of existing agreements.

I am conveying these ideas of mine to you in this way, as there is no repeat no possibility of discussing these grave questions personally with you. I believe, as I stated at beginning, that tone and contents of Paris communique will be decisive for future course of events, for in postwar times western world has surely never been more dependent than it is today on support of public opinion of all free peoples. Particular efforts at informing public will be required to make clear to non-committed nations, too, true nature of Soviet offensive.

I have written to Prime Minister Macmillan and Premier de Gaulle today to same effect.

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